NARRATIVE

OF

Count Gondamor's TRANSACTIONS DURING HIS EMBASSY IN ENGLAND.

By that Renowned Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, Knight and Baronet.

Reduced to publick Light, for the Benefit of the whole NATION.

By a Person of Honour.

LONDON, Printed for John Garfield, at the Printing Press for Pictures, near the Royal Exchange in Cornhil, over against Popes-Head Alley, 1659.

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To the Right Worſhipful,

Sir William Paſtons,

Knight, and Baronet.

SIR,

THe general Voice is, That You are a great Lover of Rarities, whence it is that I Dedicate this to You, and I hope You will make my Apologie Your ſelf, with that of Seneca, Non malè meruit, ſed benè judicavit: The Age is full of voluminous Books that are able to make the Reader nauſeate, were he not recreated by diverſion; This I preſent You with, is but ſmall, yet were it wyer-drawn to its full length, it would make a huge Volume: For it includes the Actions of King James, Earl Gondamor, Biſhop Bancroft, Sir Walter Rawleigh, and ſome other Famous Men, of whom ſeveral

several Histories might be compiled. I may compare it to Gold, that in a small quantity is of more worth than a great deal of base Coin, for it comprehends much Matter in a few Words. And for the farther Commendation, it bears in the Frontispiece the Name of that ever Famous Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, *who was never wont to treasure up any thing but what was Rare; nor can I certainly say, whether it were Pen'd by Himself or not. I insist the more upon Him, because it was my chance to be one whom he vouchsafed to take by the Hand a little before his Death, I being sent to him by my Lord Privie Seal, to acquaint him that by my Lords Mediation, the King was Reconciled to him: but his Answer was, That his Heart was broken, and that it was now too late: Whereby it appears that Princes are sometimes abused, and mis-informed, to the Ruine of the best Men.* Sir Walter Rawleighs *unfortunate end proves the same, who was circumvented by the cunning Practises of Earl* Gondamor, *whereby to the unspeakable detriment of Posterity, he was prevented from setting forth the Second Part to compleate the Worlds History, which he had made ready for the Press.* Gondamor *is yet fresh in Memory of many Men, who knew him when he lay Leiger here from the King of* Spain; *and I never*

heard

heard or read of any Embaſſadour that acted his part with more dexterity for his Maſters glory and advantage than he did, for however he had to deal with a very wiſe Prince (as he ſayes) yet like another Mercury *he could ſoon with his facetious words and geſtures pipe King* James *a ſleep, and did ſometimes take hold of the Helm himſelf, and was very near to have run the Ship a ground, or to have ſplit her upon the Rocks, the influence of his ill Aſpect, and Eclipſing the Sun-beams is hardly over unto this preſent Age.* Don Caro Columbus *who was ſent hither, was thought by many judicious Men, to be the more Prudent, and that* Gondamor *was but a Buffon compared with him: yet when he departed, he was fain to leave this Motto behind him,* Revertar, *emplying, That he had not accompliſhed what he came about: but* Gondamor *put a Period to what he had Deſigned; and perhaps it had been better for our Nation if that Politick* Spaniard *had never trod upon* Engliſh *ground. I ſhould be injurious to Your Patience if I ſhould detain You longer in the Suburbs: Therefore I haſten to ſubſcribe my ſelf,*

Your Worſhips
very humble Servant,

John Rowland.

Your Worships

very humble Servant,

A CHOICE NARRATIVE OF Count Gondamor's TRANSACTIONS During his Embaſſy in ENGLAND.

His Catholick Majeſty had given Commandement, that preſently upon the return of *Signior Gondamor*, his Leiger Embaſſadour from *England*, (1618.) a ſpecial Meeting of all the principal States of *Spain*, (who were of his Council) together with the Preſidents of the Council of *Caſtile*, of *Aragon*, of *Italy*, of *Portugal*, of the *Indies*, of the *Treaſure*, of *War*, and eſpecially of the holy *Inquiſition*, ſhould be held at *Mouſon* in *Aragon*, the Duke of *Ler-*

me being appointed Prefident, who ſhould make declaration of his Maſters pleaſure, take account of the Embaſſadours ſervice, and conſult touching the State and Religion reſpectively, to give ſatisfaction to his Holineſs *Nuncio*, who was deſired to make one in this Aſſembly, concerning certain Overtures of Peace and Amity with the *Engliſh*, and other Catholick Projects which might engender ſuſpition and jealouſie betwixt the *Pope* and his Majeſty, if the miſtery were not unfolded and the ground of theſe Counſels diſcovered afore-hand.

This made all men expect the Embaſſadors return, with a kind of longing that they might behold the iſſue of this meeting, and ſee what good for the Catholick cauſe the Embaſſadours employment had effected in *England*, anſwerable to the general opinion conceaved of his wiſdome, and what further project would be ſet on foot to become matter for publick diſcourſe; At length he arrived and had preſent notice given him from his Majeſty, that before he came to the Court he ſhould give up his account to this Aſſembly, which Command he gladly received as an earneſt of his acceptable ſervice, and gave thanks that for his honor he might publiſh himſelf in ſo judicious a preſence; he came firſt on the day appointed to the Council Chamber, (except the Secretaries) not long after all the Council of State and their Preſidents met, there wanted only the Duke of *Lerma*, and the *Popes Nuncio*, who were the head and feet of all the Aſſembly.

Theſe two ſtayed long away for divers reſpects, the *Nuncio*, that he might expreſs the greatneſs of his Maſter, and loſe the Sea of *Rome*, no reſpect by his over-ſight, but that the Benches might be full to obſerve

ſerve him at his approach. The Duke of *Lerma* to expreſs the authority and dignity of his own perſon, and to ſhew how a ſervant put in place of his Maſter, exacts more duty of his fellow ſervants then the Maſter himſelf; theſe two ſtayed till all the reſt were weary of waiting, but at length the *Nuncio* ſuppoſing all the Council ſet, lanched forth and came to road in the Council chamber, where after mutual diſcharge of duty from the Company, and bleſſing upon it from him, he ſate down in ſollemn ſilence grieving at his over-ſight, when he ſaw the Duke of *Lerma* abſent, with whom he ſtrove as a Competitor for pompe and glory.

The Duke had ſent before, and underſtood of the *Nuncio's* being there, and ſtayed ſomething the longer that his boldneſs might be obſerved, wherein he had his deſire, for the *Nuncio* having a while patiently driven away the time with ſeveral complements, to ſeveral perſons, had now almoſt run his Court-ſhip out of breath, but that the *Duke* of *Villa Hermoſa*, Preſident of the Council of *Aragon*, fed his humour by the diſcharge of his own diſcontentment, upon occaſion of the *Duke* of *Lerma* his abſence, and beckned *Signior Gondomor* to him, uſing this ſpeech in the hearing of the *Nuncio*, after a ſporting manner; how unhappy are the people where you have been, firſt for their ſouls, being Hereticks, then for their eſtates, where the name of a Favourite is ſo familiar, how happy is our ſtate where the Keyes of life and death are ſo eaſily come by, (pointing at the *Nuncio*) hanging at every Religious girdle and where the doors of Juſtice and Mercy ſtand equally open to all men without reſpect of perſons; The Embaſſadour knew his Ironical ſtroak to be intended only as a by-blow at the *Nuncio*, but fully at

the Duke of *Lerma*, (whoſe greatneſs begun now to wax heavy toward declenſion) and therefore he returneth this anſwer.

Your Excellency knoweth, the eſtate is happy where wiſe Favourites govern Kings, if the Kings themſelves be fooliſh, or where wiſe Kings are, who having Favourites, either fooliſh, or the wiſer ſort, will not yet be governed by them. The State of *England* (howſoever you hear of it in *Spain* or *Rome*) is too happy in the laſt kind, they need not care what the Favourite be, though for the moſt part he prevent all kind of ſuſpition in that kind, being choſen rather as a Schollar to be taught and trained up, then as a Tutor to teach: Of this they are ſure no Prince exceeds theirs in perſonal abilities; ſo that nothing could be added to him in my wiſh, but this one, that he were our vaſſal and a Catholick. With that the noiſe without gave notice of the Duke of *Lerma's* entrance, at whoſe firſt approach the whole houſe aroſe, though ſome later then other, as envy had hung Plummets on them to keep them down; the *Nuncio* only ſate unmoved, the Duke cheriſhed the obſervance of the reſt with a familiar kind of carriage, too high for curteſie as not neglecting their demeanors, but expecting it, and after a filial obeyſance to the *Pope* his *Nuncio*, ſate down as Preſident under the cloth of Eſtate, but ſomewhat lower, then after a ſpace given for admiration, preparation, and attention, he began to ſpeak in this manner.

The King my Maſter (holding it more honor to do, then to diſcourſe, to take from you the expectation of Oratory, uſed rather in Pulpits and Schools then in Councils,) hath appointed me Preſident in this holy, wiſe, learned, and noble aſſembly, a man naturally of a

ſlow

ſlow ſpeech, and not deſirous to quicken it, by Art or Induſtry; as holding action only proper to a *Spaniard* as I am by birth, to a Souldier as I am by profeſſion, to a King, as I am by repreſentation; take this therefore briefly, for declaration both of the cauſe of this meeting, and my Maſter his further pleaſure.

There hath been in all times ſince the worlds foundation, one chief Commander or Monarch upon the earth, this needs no further proof then a back looking into our own memories and Hiſtories of the world; neither now is there any queſtion (except with Infidels and Hereticks,) of their own chief Commander in Spirituals, in the unity of whoſe perſon, the members of the viſible Church are included. But there is ſome doubt of the chief Commander in Temporals, who as the Moon to the Sun might govern by night, as this by day, and by the Sword of Juſtice, compel to come in, or cut off, ſuch as infringe the authority of the Keys: This hath been ſo well underſtood long ſince by the infallible Chair, as that thereby upon the declenſion of the *Roman* Empire, and the increaſe of *Romes* Spiritual ſplendor, (who thought it unnatural that their Sun ſhould be ſublunary) our Nation was by the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſelected before other People, to conquer & rule the Nations with a rod of Iron. And our *King* to that end adorned with the Title of Catholick King, as a name above all names under the Sun (which is) under Gods Vicar General himſelf, the Catholick Biſhop of ſouls; to inſtance this point by compariſon; look firſt upon the grand *Signior*, the great *Turk*, who hath a large Title but not univerſal, for beſides that he is an Infidel, his command is confined within his own Territories, and he ſtiled not Emperour of the World,

but

but of the *Turk* and their Vaſſals only. Amongſt Chriſtians, the Defender of the Faith, was a glorious Stile, whilſt the King, to whom it was given by his Holineſs, continued worthy of it, but he ſtood not in the Truth, neither yet thoſe that ſucceed him, & beſide it was no great thing to be called, what every Chriſtian ought to be, Defender of the Faith, no more then to be ſtiled with *France*, the moſt Chriſtian King, wherein he hath the greateſt part of his Title common with moſt Chriſtians; the Emperour of *Rome*, *Ruſſia*, *Germany*, extend not their limits further than their ſtiles which are local, only my Maſter the moſt Catholick King, is for dominion of bodies, as the univerſal Biſhop for dominion of ſouls, over that part of the World which we call *America* (except where the *Engliſh* intruders uſurp) and the greateſt part of *Europe*, with ſome part of *Aſia*, and *Africa*, by actual poſſeſſion, and over all the reſt by real and indubitable right, yet acknowledgeth this right to be derived from the free and Fatherly donation of his Holineſs, who as the Sun to the Moon lends luſtre by reflection to this Kingdome, to this King, to this King of Kings my Maſter, what therefore he hath howſoever gotten, he may keep and hold, what he can get from any other King, or Commander, by any Stratagem of War, or pretence of Peace, he may take, for it is theirs only by uſurpation, except they held of him from whom all civil power is derived, as eccleſiaſtical, from his Holineſs; what the Ignorant call Treaſon, if it be on his behalf is truth, and what they call Truth, if it be againſt him is Treaſon; and thus all our Peace or War, our Treatiſes, Marriages, and whatſoever intendment elſe of ours, aims at this principal end, to get the whole poſſeſſion of the World,

World, and to reduce all to unity under one temporal Head, that our King may truly be what he is ſtiled, the Catholick & Univerſal King; as Faith is therefore univerſal, & the Church is univerſal, yet ſo as it is under one Head the *Pope*, whoſe ſeat is and muſt neceſſarily be at *Rome*, where Saint *Peter* ſate; So muſt all men be Subject to our and their Catholick King, whoſe particular ſeat is here in *Spaine*, his univerſal every where. This point of State, or rather of Faith, we ſee the Catholick *Roman* Religion hath taught every where, and almoſt made natural; ſo that by a Key of Gold, by intelligence, or by way of confeſſion, my Maſter is able to unlock the ſecrets of every Prince, and to withdraw their ſubjects allegiance, as if they knew themſelves rather my Maſter his ſubjects in truth, then theirs, whom their birth hath taught to miſcal Soveraign; we ſee this in *France*, & in *England* eſpecially, where at once they learn both to obey the Church of *Rome*, as their Mother, to acknowledg the catholick King as their Father, & to hate their own King as an Heretick and an Uſurper; ſo we ſee Religion, and the State are coupled together; laugh and weep, flouriſh, and fade, and participate of eithers fortune growing upon one ſtock of Pollicy: I ſpeak this the more boldly here in this preſence, becauſe I ſpeak here before none but Natives, perſons who are partakers both in themſelves & iſſues, of theſe Triumphs of antient *Rome*, and therefore ſuch as beſides their oaths it concerns to be ſecret; Neither need we reſtrain this freedome of ſpeech from the *Nuncio* his preſence, becauſe beſides that, he is a *Spaniard* by birth, he is a Jeſſuit by profeſſion and order, deviſed by the providence of Gods Vicar, to accompliſh this Monarchy the better, all of them being appropriate

propriate thereunto, and as publick Agents, and privy Counſellors to this end, whereas the wiſdome of this ſtate is to be beheld with admiration, that in temporal Wars, it imployes, or at leaſt truſts none but Natives; ſo in *Caſtile*, *Portugal*, or *Aragon*: ſo in Spirituals, it imployes none but the *Jeſuites*, and ſo imployes them that they be generally reputed, how remote ſoever they be from us, how much ſoever obliged to others, yet ſtill to be ours, and to be of the *Spaniſh* Faction, though they be *Polonians*, *Engliſh*, *French*, and reſiding in theſe Countries and Courts; the penitents therefore, and all with whom they deal and converſe in their ſpiritual traffick, muſt needs be ſo too, & ſo our Catholick King muſt needs have an inviſible Kingdome and an unknown number of ſubjects in all Dominions, who will ſhew themſelves and their Faiths, by their works of diſobedience, whenſoever we ſhall have occaſion to uſe that *Jeſuitical* vertue of theirs; this therefore being the principal end of all our Councils, according to thoſe holy directions of our late pious King *Phillip*, the ſecond, to his ſon now ſurviving, to advance the Catholick *Roman* Religion, and the Catholick *Spaniſh* Dominion together, we are now met by his Majeſties Command, to take an account of you (*Signior Gondomor*) who have been Embaſſadour for *England*, to ſee what good you have effected there, towards the advancement of this work, and what further project ſhall be thought fit to be ſet on foot to this end, and this is briefly the occaſion of our meeting.

Then the Embaſſdour who attended bare-headed all the time, with a low obeyſance began thus; this moſt laudable cuſtome of our Kings, in bringing all Officers to ſuch an account, where a review and notice

is

is taken of good and bad ſervice upon the determination of their Imployments, reſembles thoſe *Roman* Triumphs, appointed for the Souldiers, and as in them it provoked to courage, ſo in us it ſtirs up to diligence; our Maſter converſeth by his Agents with all the World, yet with none of more regard then the *Engliſh*, where matter of much diverſity is often preſented through the ſeveral humors of the State, and thoſe of our Religion and Faction, that no inſtruction can be ſufficient for ſuch negotiations, but much muſt be left in truſt to the diſcretion, Judgment, and diligence of the Incumbent: I ſpeak not this for my own glory, I having been reſtrained, and therefore deſerved meanly, but to forewarn on the behalf of others, that there may be more ſcope allowed them to deal in, as occaſion ſhall require. Briefly this rule delivered by his Excellency, was the Card and compaſs, by which I ſealed to make profit of all humors, and by all means to advance the State of the *Romiſh* Religion, and the *Spaniſh* Faction together, upon all advantage either of oath or the breach of them, for this an old obſervation but a true, that for our piety to *Rome*, his Holineſs did not only give, but alſo bleſs us in the Conqueſt of the new World, and thus in our pious perſeverance, we hope ſtill to be Conquerors of the old. And to this end whereas his Excellency, in his excellent diſcourſe, ſeems to extend our outward Forces, & private Aims, only againſt Hereticks, and reſtrain them in true amity with thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion: This I affirm ſure, becauſe there can be no ſecurity, but ſuch Princes as are now *Romiſh* Catholicks, may turn Hereticks hereafter, my aims have ever been to make profit of all, and to make my Maſter, Maſter of all, who is a faith-

ful and constant son of his Mother *Rome*: And to this end I beheld the endeavours of our Kings of happy memory, how they have atcheived Kingdomes and Conquests by this policy, rather then by open Hostility, and that without difference, as well from their Allies and Kinsfolks, men of the same Religion and profession, such as were those of *Naples*, *France*, and *Navarr*, though I do not mention *Portugal* now united to us, and *Savoy* that hardly stept from us, as of an adverse and Heretical Faith; Neither is this rule left off, as the present Kingdome of *France*, the State of *Venice*, the low Countries, *Bohemia*, now all labouring for life under our plots, apparently manifest this way; therefore I bend my Engines in *England*, as your honours shall particularly hear; Neither should I need to repeat a Catalogue of all the service I have there done, because this State hath been acquainted with many of them heretofore by the intercourse so wrought, that the State should be rather robbed and weakned (which is our aim) then strengthened, as the *English* vainly hope; Besides in a small time, they should work so far into the body of the State, by buying Offices, and the like, whether by Sea or Land, of Justice Civil or Ecclesiastical, in Church or State, all being for Mony exposed to sale, that with the help of the *Jesuites*, they would undermine them with meer wit, without gunpowder, and leave the King but a few Subjects, whose Faiths he might rely upon, whilst they were of a Faith adverse to his, for what Catholick body that is sound at the heart, can abide a Corrupt and Heretical head.

With that the Duke of *Medina del Rio secca*, President of their Council of War, and one of the Coun-

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cil of State, rose up and said, his Predecessors had felt the Force and Wit of the *English* in Eighty eight; and he had cause to doubt, that the Catholicks themselves that were *English*, and not fully *Jesuited*, upon any Forraign Invasion, would rather take part with their own King, though an Heretick, than with his Catholick Majesty, a Stranger.

The Embassadour desired him to be of another mind, since first, for the persons, generally their bodies by long disuse of Arms were disabled, and their Minds effeminated by Peace and Luxury, far from that they were in 88, when they were daily flesh'd in our Bloud, and made hearty by customary Conquests: And for the affections of those whom they call *Recusants*, (quoth he) I know the bitterness of their inveterate Malice, and have seen so far into their Natures, as I dare say they will be for *Spain* against all the World: yea (quoth he) I assure your Honours I could not imagine so basely, of their King and State as I have heard them speak, nay their rage hath so perverted their Judgements, that what I my self have seen and heard proceed from their King beyond admiration even to astonishment, they have sleighted, misreported, scorned and perverted to his disgrace, and my rejoycing, magnifying in the mean time our Defects for Graces.

Here the Duke *Pastrana*, President of the Council of *Italy*, steps up and said, He had lately read a Book of one *Camdens*, called his *Annals*, where writing of a treaty of Marriage long since, betwixt the *English Elizabeth*, and the *French* Duke of *Anjowe*; he there observes, that the Marriage was not seriously intended on either side, but politickly pretended by both

States counterchangably, that each might effect their own ends: There (quoth he) the *English* had the better, and I have ſome cauſe to doubt, ſince they can Diſſemble as well as we, that they may have their aims under-hand as we have, and intend the Match as little as we do: And this (quoth he) I beleive the rather, becauſe their King as he is wiſe to conſult and conſider, ſo he is a conſtant Maſter of his Word, and hath Written and given ſtrong Reaſons againſt Matches made with Perſons of contrary Religion; which Reaſons no other man can Anſwer, and therefore doubtleſſe he will not go from, nor counſel his Son to forſake theſe Rules, laid down ſo deliberately.

Your Excellency miſtakes (quoth the Embaſſador) the advantage was then on the ſide of the *Engliſh*, becauſe the *French* ſought the Match; now it muſt be on ours, becauſe the *Engliſh* ſeek it, who will grant any thing rather than break off; and beſides have no patience to temporize or diſſemble in this or any other Deſign, as the *French* have long ſince well obſerved; for their Neceſſities will give them neither time, nor reſt, nor hope elſewhere to be ſupplied: As for their King I cannot ſearch into his Heart, I muſt beleive others that preſume to know his Mind, hear his Words, and read his Writings, and theſe relate what I have delivered: But for the reſt of the People, as the number of thoſe that are truly Religious are ever the leaſt, and for the moſt part of leaſt account; ſo it is there; where if an equal oppoſition be made betwixt their truly Religious and ours, the remainder which will be the greater number, will ſtand indifferent, and fall to the ſtronger ſide where there is moſt hope of gain and glory, for thoſe two are the *gods* of

the magnitude and multitude; now theſe ſee apparently no certain ſupplies of their Wants, but from us.

Yes (quoth the Duke) for even now you ſaid, the general State loathing the Match, would redeem the fear thereof with half their Eſtates; it is therefore but Calling a *Parliament*, and the buſineſs were ſoon effected.

A *Parliament!* (ſayes the Embaſſadour) Nay, therein lies one of the chiefeſt Services I have done, in working ſuch a diſlike between the *King* and the *Lower Houſe*, by the endeavours of that honourable Earl, and admirable Engine, a ſure Servant to us, and the Catholick Cauſe whilſt he lived, as that the King will never endure *Parliament* again, but rather ſuffer abſolute Want, than receive conditional Relief from his Subjects; beſides, the Matter was ſo cunningly carried the laſt *Parliament*, that as in the *Powder-Plot* the fact effected ſhould have been imputed to the *Puritans*, the greateſt *Zealots* of that *Calvinian* Sect; ſo the *Propoſitions* which dam'd up the Proceedings of this *Parliament*, howſoever they were invented by *Romiſh* Catholicks, and by them intended to diſturbe that *Seſſion*, and yet were propounded in favour of the *Puritans*, as if they had been hammered in their *Forge*, which very *Name* and *Shadow* the King hates, being a ſufficient Aſperſion to diſgrace any Perſon to ſay he is ſuch, and a ſufficient bar to ſtay any ſuit, and utterly to croſs it, to ſay it ſmells of, or enclines to that Party: Moreover, there are ſo many about him who blow this Coal, fireing their own Stakes; if a *Parliament* ſhould enquire into their Actions, that they uſe all their Art and Induſtry to withſtand ſuch a *Council*,

perſwading

perſwading the *King* he may *Rule* by his abſolute *Prerogative* without a *Parliament*, and thus furniſh himſelf by Marriage with us, and other Domeſtick Projects without Subſidies, when Levying of Subſidies and Taxes have been the only uſe Princes have made of ſuch *Aſſemblies*: And whereas ſome free Minds amongſt them reſembling our Nobility, who preſerve the Priviledge of Subjects againſt Soveraign Invaſion, call for the Courſe of the Common Law, (a Law proper to their Nation) theſe other Time-ſervers cry the Laws down, and up the Prerogative; whereby they prey upon the Subjects by Suits and Exactions, milk the State and keep it bare, procure themſelves much Suſpition amongſt the better and more judicious ſort, and Hate amongſt the oppreſſed *Commons*; and yet if there ſhould be a *Parliament*, ſuch a courſe is taken, as they ſhall never Chuſe their Shire Knights and Burgeſſes freely, who make the greater half of the Body thereof; for theſe being to be Elected by moſt Voices of the Free-holders in theſe Countries where ſuch Elections are to be made, are carried which way the great Perſons, who have Lands in theſe Countries, pleaſe; who by their Letters command their Tennants, Followers, and Friends, to Nominate ſuch as adhere to them; and for the moſt part are of our Faction, and reſpect their own Benefit or Grace, rather than their Countries good; yea, the Country-people themſelves, will every one ſtand by the great Man, their Lord, or Neighbour, or Maſter, without regard of his Honeſty, Wiſdom, or Religion, that which they aim at (as I am aſſured by faithful Intelligence, is to pleaſe their Landlord) and ſo to renew their Leaſe; in which regard they will betray

betray their Country and Religion too, and Elect any man, that may moſt profit their particular: Therefore it is unlikely there ſhould ever be a *Parliament*, and impoſſible the Kings Debts ſhould be paid, his Wants ſufficiently repaired, and Himſelf left full-handed by ſuch a courſe; and indeed, as it is generally thought, by any courſe but by a Marriage with us; For which cauſe, whatſoever Project we liſt to attempt, enter ſafely at the Door, whilſt their Policy lies aſleep, and will not ſee the Danger: I have made tryal of theſe *Particulars*, and find few Exceptions in this general Rule.

Thereby I and their own Wants together, have kept them from Furniſhing their Navie, which being the Wall of their Iſland, and once the ſtrongeſt in Chriſtendom, lies now at Road, unarm'd, and fit for Ruine; If ever we doubted their Strength by Sea, now we need not; there are but few Ships or Men able to look abroad, or live in a Storm, much leſſe in a Sea Fight; this I effected by bearing them in hand, the Furniſhing of their Navie bred ſuſpition in my Maſter, and ſo would avert him from the March, the Hope of which, rather than they would loſe, they would loſe almoſt their Hope of Heaven.

Secondly, All their Voyages to the *Eaſt Indies*, I permit rather with a colourable Reſiſtance than a ſerious, becauſe I ſee them not helpful but hurtful to the State in general, carrying out Gold and Treaſure, bringing home Spice, Silks, Feathers, and the like Toyes, and inſenſibly waſting the Common Stock of Coin and Bullion, while it fills the *Cuſtom-houſe*, and ſome private Purſes, who thereby are enabled to keep this diſcommodity on foot by Bribes, eſpecially ſo

many

many great Perſons (even States-men) being adventurers and ſharers in the Gain; beſides this, waſteth their Marriners, not One of Ten returning, which I am glad to hear, for they are the Men we ſtand in fear of.

Thirdly, Their *Weſt Indian* Voyages, I withſtand them in earneſt, becauſe they begin to Inhabite there, and Fortifie themſelves, and may in time perhaps raiſe another *England*, to withſtand our new *Spain* in *America*; as this old *England* oppoſeth our preſent State, and clouds the glorious extents thereof in *Europe*: Beſides, there they trade for commodities without waſte of their Treaſure, and often return Gold for Knives, Glaſſes, and the like trifles, and that without ſuch loſs of their Marriners, as in other places; therefore I croſſed whatſoever Intendments were projected for *Virginia*, or the *Bermudoes*, becauſe I ſee they may be hereafter really helpful unto them, as now they ſerve for Drains to unload their populous State, which elſe would over-flow its own Banks, by continuance of Peace, and turn Head upon it ſelf, or make a Body fit for any Rebellion.

And ſo far I prevailed herein, as I cauſed moſt of the Recuſants, who were ſharers, to with-draw their Ventures and diſcourage the Work; ſo that beſides private Perſons unable to effect much, nothing was done by the publick Purſe: And we know by experience, that ſuch Voyages and Plantations are not effected without great Means to ſuſtain great Difficulties, and with an unwearied Reſolution and Power to meet all Hazards and Diſaſters with ſtrong Helps and continual Supplies, or elſe the Undertaking prove idle.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, By this means likewise, I kept the voluntary Forces from *Venice*, till it was almost too late to set out, and had a hope that work of secrecy should have broken forth to action, before those could have arrived to succour them.

Fifthly, I put hard for the cautionary Towns, which our late King *Philip*, of happy memory so aimed at, accounting them the Keyes of the Low Countries, that they might be delivered to his Catholick Majesty, as to the proper owner; and had perhaps prevailed, but that profest Enemy to our State and Church who dyed shortly after, gave Council to restore them to the Rebellious States, as one that knew popular Common-wealths to be better Neighbours, surer Friends, and less dangerous enemies, than Monarchs; and so by this practice rescued them from my hands, and furnished the Exchequer from thence for that time, neither was I much grieved at this, because the dependancy they had before of the *English*, seemed now to be cut off, and the interest the *English* had in them and their cause, to be taken away, which must be fully and finally effected, before we can hope either to Conquer them, or *England*, who holding together are too strong for the World at Sea; and therefore must be disunited before they can be overcome. This point of State is acknowledged by our most experienced Pensioner, and sure Friend, *Mounser Reynevelt*, whose succeeding plots for this end, shall bear witness for the depth of his Judgement.

Sixtly, But the last service I did for the State, was not the least, when I underwrought that admirable Engine, *Rawleigh*, and so was the cause, his voyage threatning much danger and damage to us was overthrown,

and himself returning in disgrace, I pursued almost to death; Neither (I hope) need I say almost, if all things hit right, and all strings hold; But the determination of my commission would not permit me longer to stay to follow him to execution, which I desired the rather, that by concession I might have wrung from the inconsiderate *English*, an acknowledgment of my Masters right in those places, punishing him for attempting there, though they might prescribe for the first foot; And this I did to stop their mouths hereafter, and because I would quench the heat and valour of that Nation, that none should dare hereafter to undertake the like, or be so hardy as to look out at Sea, or breath upon our coasts; and lastly, because I would bring to an ignominious death, that old Pirate, who is one of the last now living, bread under that deceased *English Virago*, and by her flesht in our blood and ruin: To do this I had many Agents, first, divers Courtiers who were hungry and gaped wide for *Spanish Gold*; Secondly, some that bare him at the heart for inveterate quarrels; Thirdly, some forraigners, who having in vain sought the *Elixer* hitherto, hope to find it in his head; Fourthly, all men of the *Romish* Faith, who are of the *Spanish* Faction, and would have been my Blood-hounds to hunt him or any such to death willingly, as persons hating the prosperity of their Country, and the valour, worth, and wit of their own Nation; in respect of us and our Catholick cause; Lastly, I left behind me such an instrument composed artificially, of a secular understanding, and a Religious profession, as he is every way adopted to screw himself into the Closet of the heart, and to work upon feminine Levity, who in that Country, have masculine

culine Spirits, to command and purſue their Plots unto death. This therefore I account as done, and rejoyce in it, knowing it will be very profitable to us, grateful to our Faction there, and what though it be croſs to the People, or the Clergy, we that only negotiate for our gain, & treat about this marriage for their own ends, can conclude or break off when we ſee our time, without reſpect of ſuch, as can neither profit us, nor hurt us; for I have certain knowledg, that the Commons generally are ſo effeminate and cowardly, that they at their Muſters, which are ſeldome and ſlight, only for the benefit of their Muſter Maſters of a 1000 Souldiers, ſcarce a hundred dares diſcharge a Musket, and of that hundred, ſcarce one can uſe it like a Souldier; And for their Arms they are ſo ill provided, that one Corſlet ſerveth many men, when ſuch as ſhew their Armour one day in one place, lend them to their friends in other places to ſhew, when they have uſe; And this if it be ſpied, is only puniſhed by a mulct in the purſe, which is the Officers aim, who for his advantage, winks at the reſt, and is glad to find and cheriſh by Connivance profitable faults, that increaſe his Revenues; Thus ſtands the ſtate of that poor miſerable Country, which had never more people and fewer men; So that if my Maſter ſhould reſolve upon an invaſion, the time never fits as at this preſent, ſecurity of this marriage, and the diſuſe of Armes having caſt them into a dead ſleep, a ſtrong and wakning Faction being ever amongſt them ready to aſiſt us, and they being unprovided of Ships, or Arms, or hearts to fight, an univerſal diſcontentment following all men: This I have from their Muſter Maſters, and Captains, who are many of them of our Religion, or

of none, and so ours ready to be bought and sold, and desirous to be my Masters servants in Fee.

Thus much for the State particularly, wherein I have been my self to weaken them and strengthen us, and in all these have advanced the Catholick cause, but especially in procuring favours for all such as favour that side, & crossing the other by all means; And this I practice my selfe, and give out to be generally practised by others, that whatsoever successe I find, I still boast of the victory, which I do to dishearten the Heretiks, and to make them suspitious one of another, especially of their Princes best States-men, and to keep our own in courage, who by this means increase, otherwise would be in danger to decay.

Now for Religion, and such designs as fetch their pretence from thence, I beheld the policy of that late Bishop of theirs, *Bancroft*, who stirred up and maintained a dangerous Schisme, betwixt our secular Priests and Jesuits, by which he discovered much weakness to the dishonour of our Clergy, and prejudice of our cause; This taught me as it did *Barneveld* in the Low Countries, to work secretly and insensibly betwixt their Conformists, and Non-conformists, and to cast an eye as far as the Orcades, knowing that business might be stirred up there that might hinder proceedings in *England*, as the *French* ever used *Scotland* to call home the Forces of *England*, and so to prevent their Conquests, the effect you have partly seen in the Earl of *Argile*, who sometimes was Captain for the King and Church, against the great Marq. *Huntley*, and now fights under our banner at *Bruxels*, leaving the Crosses of St. *George*, and St. *Andrew*, for the Cross of St. *James*: Neither do our hopes end here, but we daily

ly expect more Revolters, or at least such a disunion as will never admit solid reconcilement, but will send some to us, & some to *Amsterdam*, for the King (a wise and vigilant Prince) labouring for a perfect union betwixt both the Kingdomes which he sees cannot be effected; where the least Ceremony in Religion is continued diverse, sharp & bitter brambles from thence arising, whilst some striving for honour more then for truth, prefers their own way and will before the general peace of the Church, and the edification of souls, he I say seeks to work both Churches to uniformity, and to this end made a Journey into *Scotland*, but with no such success as he expected, for divers of ours attended the train, who stirred up humors and factions, and cast in scruples and doubts to hinder and cross the proceedings, yea those that seem most adverse to us, & averse to our opinions by their disobedience and example, help forward our plots, and these are incouraged by a factious and heady multitude, by a faint and Irresolute Clergy, many false Brethren being amongst their Bishops, and the prodigal Nobility, who maintain these stirs in the Church, & that thereby they may safely keep their Church livings in their hands, which they have most Sacrilegiously seized upon in the time of the first Deformation, and which they fear would be recovered by the Clergy, if they could be brought to a brotherly peace and agreement, for they have seen the King very bountiful in this kind, having lately increased their pentions, and setled the Clergy a Competent Maintenance, and besides out of his own Means which in that Kingdome is none of the greatest, having brought in and restored whole Bishopricks to the Church, which were before in Lay-mens hands, a great

great part of the Nobilities eſtate conſiſting of ſpiritual Lands, which makes them cheriſh the *Puritanical* Faction, who will be content to be trencher fed with Scraps and Crums, and contributions, and arbitrary benevolence, from their Lords, and Lairds, and Ladies and their adherents and followers.

But (quoth the Inquiſitor General) how if this act of the Kings, wherein he is moſt earneſt and conſtant, ſhould ſo far thrive, as it ſhould effect a perfect union in the Church and Common-wealth, I tell you it would in my conceit, be a great blow to us, if by a General meeting, a general peace ſhould be concluded, and all their Forces bent againſt *Rome*, and we ſee their politick King aims at this.

True (quoth *Gondamor*) but he takes his mark amiſs howſoever he underſtands the People and their inclination better then any man, and better knowes how to temper their paſſions and affections, for beſides that he is hindered, there in *Scotland* underhand, by ſome for the reaſons above recited, and by the other great ones of ours, who are in great place and authority amongſt them, he is likewiſe deluded in this point, even by his own Clergy at home in *England*, who pretend to be moſt forward in the cauſe, for they conſidering if a general uniformity were wrought, what an Inundation would follow, whilſt all or moſt of theirs would flock thither for preferment, (as men preſſing towards the Sun for light and heat) and ſo their own ſhould be unprovided; theſe therefore I ſay, howſoever they bear the King fairly in hand, are under-hand againſt it, and ſtand ſtiff for all Ceremonies, to be obtruded with a kind of abſolute neceſſity upon them, when the other will not be almoſt drawn to receive any, when

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if an abatement were made, doubtleſs they might be drawn to meet in the midd'ſt, but there is no hope of this with them, where neither party deals ſeriouſly, but only for the preſent to ſatisfie the King, and ſo there no fear on either ſide, that affections and opinions, ſo divers, will ever be reconciled and made one. Their Biſhop of St. *Andrews* ſtands almoſt alone in the Cauſe, and pulls upon himſelf the labour, the loſs and envy, of all with little proficiency, whilſt the adverſe Faction have as ſure friends, & good intelligence about the King, as he hath; and the ſame Poſt, perhaps, that brings a packet from the King to him, brings another from their abettors to them, acquainting them with the whole proceedings and Councils, and preparing them aforehand for oppoſition, this I know for truth, and this I rejoyce in as conducing much to the Catholick good.

But (quoth the *Nuncio*) are there none of the Heretical Preachers buſie about this Match, me thinks their fingers ſhould itch to be Writing, and their tongues burn to be Prating about this Buſineſs; eſpecially the *Puritanical* ſort, howſoever the moſt temperate, and indifferent, carry themſelves.

The truth is my Lord, (quoth the Embaſſadour) that privately what they can, and publickly what they dare, both in *England* and *Scotland*, all for the moſt part, except ſuch as be of our Faith, oppoſe this Match to the uttermoſt, by Prayers, Counſels, Speeches, & Wiſhes; but if any be found longer tongued than his Fellows, we have ſtill Means to charm their ſaucineſs, and to ſilence them, to expel them the Court, to diſgrace them, and croſs their Preferments, with the imputation of pragmatick *Puritaniſm*: For inſtance, I

will

will Relate this one particular; A *Doctor* of theirs, and *Chaplain* in Ordinary to the *King*, gave many *Reasons*, in a Letter, against this Marriage; and Propounded a *Way* how to supply the Kings Wants otherwise: which I understanding, so wrought underhand, that the *Doctor* was committed, and hardly escaped the Danger of this presumptious *Admonition*; though the State knew his *Intent* was honest, and his *Reasons* good: Wherein we on the other-side (both here, and with the arch-Duke) have had *Books* penn'd, and *Pictures* printed directly against their King and State, for which their Embassadors have sought satisfaction of us in vain, not being able to stay the Prince, or so much as to touch the Hem of the *Authors* Garment. But we have an evasion which *Heresticks* miss, our *Clergy* being freed from the *Temporal Sword*, and so not included in our *Treaties* and *Conditions* of *Peace*, but at liberty to give any *Heretical Prince* the *Mate* when they list, whereas they are lyable to accompt and hazard, and are muzled for barking, when ours may both Bark, and Bite too: The *Council-Table*, and the *Star-Chamber*, do so terrifie them as they dare not Riot, but run at the stirrop in excellent command, and come in at the least Rebuke; they call their Preaching in many places standing up, but they crowch and dare not, stand not up, nor Quest, behave themselves like Setters, silent, and creeping upon their Bellies, lick the dust which our *Priests* shake off from their beautiful feet.

Now (quoth the Duke of *Lerma*) satisfie me about our own *Clergy* how they fare; for there were late *Petitions* made to the King, in the Name of the *Depressed, Afflicted, Persecuted*, and *Imprisoned* Priests, that

that his Majesty would interede for them, to free them from the intollerable burdens they groan under, and to procure their Liberties; and Letters were directed from us to this end, That you should Negotiate this Demand with all speed, and diligence.

Most Excellent Prince, (replyed *Gondomar*) I did your Command, with a kind of Command my self, not thinking it fit to make it a Suit in your Name, and my Masters; I obtained them liberty to walk up and down, to face, and out-face their Accusers, Judges, Magistrates, and Bishops, and to exercise their Functions, almost as freely, altogether as safely as at *Rome*: Here the *Nuncio* objected, That he did not well in procuring their liberty, since they might do more good in Prison, than abroad; because in Prison, they seemed to be under *Persecution*, and so were pitied of others, and pity of the person prepares the affection further; besides, then they were careful of their own Lives to give no offence, but abroad they might be scandalous in their Lives, as they use to be in *Rome*, and *Spain*, and other Catholick Countries; and so the *Opinion* of their Holiness, which upholds their *Credit*, and *Cause*, against the Married *Clergy*, would soon decay.

But the Embassadour Replyed, He considered these inconveniencies, and besides a superiour Command, he saw the profit of their liberty, more than of their restraint; for now they might freely confer, and were ever practising, and would doubtless produce some work of Wonder; and besides, the reason of their Authority, and Means to change places, did apply themselves to many persons, whereas in Prison they could only deal with such as came to be taught, were

their own before; And this (quoth he) I added as a Secret, that as before they were maintained by private Contributions from Devout Catholicks, even to excess; so much more now shall they be able to gather great Sums to weaken the State, and furnishing them for some high attempt, by the example of Cardinal *Wolsey*, barrelling up Gold for *Rome*; and this they may easily do, since all Catholicks rob the *Heretical Priests*, and with-hold *Tythes* from them by fraud or force, to give to these of their own, to whom it is properly due: And if this be spied, its an easie matter to lay all upon the *Hollander*; and say, He carries the Coin out of the Land (who is forward enough indeed in these practises) and so ours shall not only be excused, but a flaw made betwixt them to weaken their Amities, and beget suspition betwixt them, of each others Love.

But amongst all these *Priests*, (quoth the *Inquisitor*) did you remember that old Reverend Father, *Baldwin*, who had a finger in that admirable attempt made on our behalf against the *Parliament House*; such as he, deserving so highly, and ventering their Lives so resolutely for the Catholick Cause, must not be neglected, but extraordinarily Regarded, thereby to encourage others to the like Holy Undertakings.

Holy Father, (quoth *Gondamor*) My principal care was of him, whose Life and Liberty, when I had with much difficulty, obtained of the King, I solemnly went in person, atended with all my Train, and divers other well-willers, to fetch him out of the *Tower*, where he was in durance: as soon as I came in his sight, I behaved my self after so lowly and humble a manner, that our *Adversaries* stood amazed

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to see the Reverence we give to our Ghostly Fathers; and this I did to confound them and their contemptuous *Clergy*, and to beget an extraordinary Opinion of Holiness in the person, and Piety in us; and also to provoke the *English* Catholicks to the like devout Obedience, that thereby at any time these Jesuites whose authority was somewhat weakned since the Schism betwixt them and the Seculars, and the succeeding Powder-plot, may work them to our ends, as Masters their servants, Tutors their Schollars, Fathers their Children, Kings their Subjects, and that they may do this the more boldly and securely, I have somwhat dash'd the authority of their high Commissioners; upon which, whereas there are divers Pursevants, men of the worst kind, and condition, resembling our Flies, and Familiars, attending upon the Holy *Inquisition*; whose office and employment is to disturb the Catholicks, search their Houses for *Priests* holy Vestments, Books, Beads, Crucifixes, and the like Religious appurtenances, I have caused the Execution of their Offices to be slackened, so that an open way may be given to our Spiritual Instruments, for the free Exercise of their Faculties; and yet when these Pursevants were in greatest authority, a small Bribe, in the Country, would blind their eyes, or a little greater at the Court, or in the Exchequer frustrate and cross all their actions, so that their malice went off like Squibs, making a great Crack to fright Children, and new born Babes, but hurt no old men of Catholick spirits; and this is the effect of all other their Courses of proceedings in this kind, in all their Judicial Courts, whither known Catholicks (Convicted, as they term them) are often summoned

and cited, threatned and bound over, but the danger is past so soon as the Officer hath his Fee paid to him, then the Execution goeth no further; nay, upon my Conscience, they are glad when there are Offendors in that kind, because they are bountiful, and the Officers do their best to succour them, that they may encrease, and so their benefit and gain come in freely.

And if they should be sent to prison, even that place for the most part is made a Sanctuary to them, as the old *Romans* were wont to shut up such by way of restraint, whom they meant to preserve from the peoples fury; so they live safe in prison till we have time to work their liberty, and assure their lives, and in the mean time, their place of restraint is as a study unto them, where they have opportunity to confer together as in a College, and to arm themselves in unity against their single adversaries abroad, (but quoth the Inquisitor General) how do they for Books when they have occasion either to write or dispute?

My Lord replyes, *Gentlemen*, all the Libraries belonging to the *Romish* Catholicks, through the land, are at their Command, from whence they have all such Collections as they can require, gathered to their hands, as well from thence, as from all the Libraries of both Universities, and even the Books themselves if that be requisite.

Besides I have made it a principal part of my employment, to buy all the Manuscripts and other ancient and rare Authors, out of the hands of the Heretick's; So that there is no great Scholar dies in the Land, but my Agents are dealing with his Books; In so much as even their learned, *Isaac Casaubons Li-*

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brary was in Election without question to be ours, had not their Vigilant King (who foresees all dangers, and hath his eyes busy in every place) prevented my plots, for after the death of that great Scholler, I sent to request a view and Catalogue of his Books, with their price, intending not to be out-bid by any man, if mony would fetch them, because (Besides the damage that that side should have received by their loss, persecuting the same story against Cardinal *Baronius*) we might have made good advantage of his Notes, Collections, Castigations, Censures, and Criticismes for our own party, and framed and put out either under his name at our pleasure; But that was fore-seen by their *Prometheus*, who sent that torturer of ours, the Bishop of *Winchester*, to search and sort the Papers, and to seal up the study, giving a large and Princely Allowance for them, to the Relief of *Casaubon*, together with a bountiful pention, and provision for her and hers, but this plot failing at that time, hath not ever done, nor had the University of *Oxford* so Triumphed in their many Manuscripts given by that famous Knight Sir *Thomas Bodly*, if either I had been then imployed, or this course of mine then thought upon; For I would labour what I might this way or any other way, to disarm them, & either to translate their best Authors hither, or at least to leave none in the hands of any, but *Roman* Catholicks, who are assuredly ours; and to this end, an especial eye should be had upon the Libraries of one Sir *Robert Cotton* an Ingrosser of Antiquities, that whensoever it comes to be broken up either before his death or after, the most choice and singular Pieces might be gleaned or gathered up, Neither let any man think that descending thus low to petty particulars

lars is unworthy an Embassadour, or of small avail for the ends we aim at, since we see every mountain consists of several sands, and there is not more profitable conversing for States-men, then amongst Scholars and their Books, especially where the King for whom we watch is the King of Schollars, and loves to live almost altogether in their Element.

Besides, if by any means we can continue difference in their Church, or make them wider, or beget distaste betwixt their Clergy and common Lawyers, who are men of greatest power in their Land, the benefit will be ours, the consequence great, opening a way for us to come in between, for personal quarrels produce real questions.

As he was further prosecuting this Discourse, one of the Secretaries, who waited in the Chamber without, desired entrance, and being admitted, delivered Letters which he had newly received of a Post, directed to the President, and the rest of the Council, from his Catholick Master; the Contents whereof were to this effect.

Right trusty and wel-beloved Cousins and Counsellors, we Greet you well; Whereas we had a hope by our Agents in England, *and* Germany, *to effect the great Work of the* Western Empire, *and like on the other side to surprize* Venice, *and so incircling* Europe *at one instant, and infolding it into our arms, make the easier Road upon the* Turk *in* Asia, *and at length reduce all the World to our Catholick Command: And whereas to these holy ends, we had secret and sure Plots and Projects on foot in all these places, and good intelligence in all Courts; Know we that, we have received late and sad*

News

News of the apprehenſion of our moſt truſty and able Pentioner, Barnevelt, *and of the diſcovery of other our intendments; ſo that our hopes are for the preſent adjourned, till ſome other more convenient and auſpicuous time; We therefore will you preſently, upon ſight hereof, to break off your Conſultation, and repair ſtraight to our Preſence, there to take further directions, and proceed as neceſſity of the time, and cauſe, ſhall require.*

With that his Excellency and the whole Houſe, ſtruck with amazement, croſſed their fore-heads, roſe up in ſad ſilence, and brake off this Treaty abruptly, and without tarriance took Horſe and Poſted to the Court, from whence expect newes the next fair wind.

In the mean time, let not thoſe be ſecure whom it concerns to be rouzed up, knowing that this aſpiring Nebuchadnezzar, *will not loſe the glory of his Greatneſs, who continueth ſtill to magnifie himſelf in his great* Babel, *until it be ſpoken,*

Thy Kingdome is departed from thee, *Dan.* 4.

FINIS.